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361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the neces-
437 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

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The Dairy

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

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vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *kas*, *koath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

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GLOSSARY

104 Only the more important Toda words used in this book are included in the glossary. The words are arranged in alphabetical order, neglecting the quantity or other value of the first vowel. The numbers refer to the pages on which fuller descriptions of the terms are given.

Âdrpârs, coagulated milk, curd, p. 64.
agdr, a stand in the dairy, p. 60.
al, the deposit after the clarification of butter used as food, pp. 50, 242.
alug, a vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 90.
Amnödr, the world of the dead, p. 397.
an (*anna*), elder brother, p. 486.
ân, ancient clothing of the Todas, pp. 196, 342, 572.
Ânîs, a dairy, p. 112; also a god, p. 188.
Arpatmol or *Arpazmal*, a sacred day, p. 407.
ârs, house, p. 583.
ârsailr, buffaloes of the Kwödrdöni *tî*, p. 121.
ârsâp, a salt-giving ceremony, p. 175.
athkkârtpimi, a food used on ceremonial occasions, p. 580.
âtkr, buffaloes of the Nödrs *tî*, p. 112.
âv (*âvaf*), mother, p. 485.
âvdrum, the circle of stones in which the ashes are buried at a funeral, pp. 337, 379.
âvdrumthâr, the last part of the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 378.
Epatirikkârs, a double hut, p. 29.
âr, a male buffalo, p. 47.
ârkumpttkpimi or *ârkumpttkiti*, the ceremony of sacrificing a calf, p. 274.
ârnkâr, sacrificial place at the *ârkumpttkpimi* ceremony, p. 276.
ârs, leaf.
ârsteiti, the act of making a leaf-cup, pp. 75, 148.
ârtatpun, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
ârtatmâr, part of the dairy where the less sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
ârtatpur, the less sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58
âthâpâli, chief dairy, p. 40.

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ettdmund, the chief village of a clan or other important village, pp. 24, 36, 419.
etmiuzdkdr, the first funeral ceremony, p. 337.
ickchil, a condition of impurity due to death or child-birth, pp. 102, 326, 368.
iqtis, ... for the skin of, p. 210.
ifirkmi, a vessel used at a *ti* dairy, p. 90.
ifirtul, part of a hut containing the sleeping-places, p. 583.
imdfirikdrs, stones at certain villages, p. 439.
in, father, p. 484.
ir, a female buffalo, p. 47.
irkarmat or *irkarmdt*, the milking-place, p. 53.
irkkirtpan (*irkkirtkfpan*), milking-vessel, p. 58.
irmirtiti, the offering of a buffalo calf to the *ti*, p. 293; or to another division of the clan, p. 294.
irmdfirthnol, the day of migration, p. 124.
irpdlwatki, ceremony after the birth of a calf, p. 172.
irsankdti, a funeral ceremony, p. 381.
irshifirkkdtmol, the day of migration, p. 124.
Kobun, iron.
kokkafiti, procedure in which the back is not turned to the contents of the dairy, p. 73.
kockdttkti, the cloth-giving ceremony at a funeral, p. 358.
kofir, the calf-pen, p. 26.
kdfkati, knife burnt at the *dzdrmkkfr*, p. 381.
kogdrs, the *ti* name of the *kdno*, p. 103.
kolmdkkti, a salutation, p. 31.
kolzkwatiti, the rite of pouring out buttermilk for the *palol*, p. 97.
kdkddrs, leaves of the *kdkkd* plant, p. 79.
kdkkl, stick used in the *pondp* ceremony, p. 178.
kalkuni, part of the dairy, p. 58.
kalmelpnfizkti, a salutation, pp. 34, 496.
kalolmad, villages where women may not live, p. 420
kdlmakk, the attendant on a *palol*, pp. 42, 105.
kalool, a path, p. 26.
Komaikfrolam, legendary Todas, p. 195.
kondrmmkfr, the evil eye, p. 263.
kor, a young calf, p. 47.
korcpkk, the calf-house of a *ti*, p. 85.
kdrfun, a milking-vessel of the *ti*, p. 90.
kdrs, stone.
kordd, younger, p. 485.
kordmkfr, the mother's village, p. 547.
kdrmol or *kdrtmol*, the day after a ceremony, pp. 105, 333.
kdtd, the wall surrounding a house or dairy, p. 24.
kurulpdo, a flower, p. 111.
kdfir, funeral, relics, etc., p. 368.
kutkurstr, the *tdrmdtr* of Nidrsi and Kwddrdoni, p. 71.
kufun (*kufpun*), vessel to hold water, p. 57.

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kurk, the name of the waist-string during the ordination ceremony, pp. 148, 572.
kvrtuḳṛ, a funeral place, p. 338.
kuvuṛrkt, mode of baring the right arm, pp. 31, 571.
kṣṣ, the broom, p. 32.
kṭṭṭṭṭ, bed on left-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
kṭ, stake used at the *kṭkuvpṭtkpimi* sacrifice, p. 276.
kṭgkkg, the name of the churning-stick at the *tṭ*, p. 89.
kvrdṣ, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
kvkuvtuvi, the cloak of the *ṣalol*, p. 103.
kvdvṣṭṛ, the *vdrvultr* of Pan, p. 71; also the sacred buffaloes of Pleḍr, p. 81.
kvdṭ, a measure used for liquids corresponding to about four pints, p. 588.
kṭḍṛ, horn, a division of a clan, pp. 37, 295, 542.
kṭḍṛṣṭṭ, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 66.
kṭḍṛṣṭṭkvrtvmkk, the dairyman of the *kṭḍṛṣṭṭ*, p. 66.
kṭḍṛs mvmi, the bells of the *pvmṛr* of the *tṭ*, p. 91.
kṭḍṛvvr, fireplace made of four stones, pp. 57, 583.
kvdvṣṭṭ or kvdvkvl, family, p. 545.
kḍṣ, daughter, p. 485.
kḍṣkṛr, a buffalo whose horns bend downwards, p. 47.
kvgvvli, a sacred dairy of Tarḍṛ, pp. 41, 76.
kvgvvltr, the buffaloes of the *kvgvvli*, pp. 41, 77.
kvgvvlikkrtvmkk, the dairyman of the *kvgvvli*, pp. 41, 76.
kṭṭṭṭṭr, buffaloes of the Nṣḍrs *tṭ*, p. 113.
Kṭkkvkkrr, a god, p. 188.
kvmvṣṭṭi, funeral laments, etc., pp. 385, 600.
Kṭkvvi, a Kurumba, p. 641.
kkrvkkṣṣkkṭṭi, Kurumba sorcery, p. 262.
kvrk (? *kṭṣṣk*), structure for young calves, p. 26.
kvtvr, flour, pp. 62, 583.
kṭvvr, the perineal band, p. 30.
kṭvvm or kṭṣvvr, a vessel used at the *kvgvvli* of Tarḍṛ, p. 79.
kvvkkṭr (*kvvvvṭr*), the *tṭ* name of the *pvmṛr*, p. 103.
kvvrkkl, stick used at the *pvvḍṣ* ceremony, p. 178.
kvvrvvvv, name used in prayer, etc., pp. 216, 384, 614.
kvvvi, the milking-vessel of the *tṭ* dairy, p. 89.
kvvvvṭr spring supplying water for a *tṭ* dairy, p. 85.
kvvvvrṣṣl, a wand used by the *ṣalol* when milking, p. 90.
kvvtkkr, the calf-house, p. 26.
Kvvtvv, a *tey* or god, p. 193.
Kvvtv, a god, p. 203.
kvvttkvv, seat, p. 29.
kvvvgg, the ordinary bell, p. 424.
Kvvkg, Coorg, p. 114.
kvd, village, pp. 24, 338; head, p. 282.
vvdvvl, sacred day of village, p. 405.
vvdvl, village people or clan, p. 36.
vvdkk, the churning-stick, p. 60.

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maj, buttermilk.
majpartv, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
majvatiltkhalvol, path reserved for women, p. 27.
majvatvaikdrv, spot on which women receive buttermilk, p. 28.
mairr, a barren buffalo, p. 47.
mani, the sacred bell, pp. 40, 66, 424.
manktgk, er's daughter, 488.
manmakk, sister's son, pp. 484, 488.
marthr, the sacred buffaloes of the Kârs clan, p. 68.
mdrdp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
mdrvainolkkdr, the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 372.
masth, axe, pp. 57, 585.
matckuni, children of brother and sister, pp. 488, 512.
Mav, a Badaga, p. 630; also sambhar.
meilkkdr, extra share, 560.
meitün, bed on right-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
merkalârv, double hut, pp. 29, 318.
merzgârvlr, the *wdrzullr* of Nòdrs, p. 71.
methkkdi, place of cremation, p. 343.
miniaplr, the *wdrzullr* of Kerâdr, pp. 71, 192.
magdl, forearm, also segment of forelimb of calf corresponding to metacarpus, p. 281.
magvi, a cubit, p. 588.
mokk, son, child, p. 485.
mokkkeditl (*mokkkedvaiol*), mode of union between the sexes, p. 526.
mokkkjdrtvaiol, man who gives away a wife, p. 494.
Mondtrubutipol, Toda name of a tribe living in the Wainad.
mdr, the name of buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 107.
mdrkudrikl, a ladle of the *tl* dairy, p. 90.
mdrol, privileged visitors to a *tl*, p. 107.
mdrpun, a dairy vessel used to hold buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 90.
mdrdp, the ordinary salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 175.
mâ, a name given to several kinds of dairy vessels, pp. 58, 422.
mâli or *mul*, a name for various plants, p. 145; also used for thorns, p. 194; and for the quills of a porcupine, p. 267.
mulintrikdti, the ordination ceremony of the *palkartmokk*, p. 148.
mun, mother's brother and wife's father, pp. 487, 492.
mdrv, the sleeve, p. 32.
mdrthdrkl, anger, p. 260.
Nain or *nain*, the council, pp. 32, 550.
nakk, a three-year-old calf, p. 47.
nan, a young shoot, p. 145.
nânmakud, a club, pp. 381, 586.
nârthpini, a game, p. 596.
nâskperkkir, sacred buffaloes originally given to Nòdrs, p. 69.
nkirkurrk, middle room of a three-roomed dairy, p. 57.
nkjrvol, intermediary, pp. 258, 527

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nei, clarified butter or ghi, p. 50.
nersatiti, a salutation, p. 304.
neurudtpol, name of the *kdltmokh* at the migration ceremony, p. 139.
neurulnkdrs, stones of ceremonial importance, pp. 129, 140, 438.
nfpd, stream, p. 26.
nir, water, spring.
nirodibudnddr, the initial stages of the ordination of the *kdltmokh*, p. 153.
niroditi, the ordination ceremony, pp. 144, 157.
nirzi, the fire-stick, p. 60.
nodr, country, place; sometimes used for 'ceremony.'
nodrkdtchi, ancestors of buffaloes, p. 112.
nodrodchi, a ruler, pp. 183, 186.
nodrvod, younger brother, p. 486.
Nodrzi, a goddess, p. 189.
Ol or *ol*, man, husband, p. 489.
on, a sacred syllable uttered in the dairy ceremonial, p. 65.
On, a god, p. 184.
Pdiol, male relations-in-law, pp. 489, 492.
Pdkhudr, a river, 418; also a god.
pali or *palthli*, the dairy, p. 26.
palikdrimokh (? *palfikdrithtmokh*), the dairyman, p. 39.
palinol, sacred day of dairy, p. 405.
pdlmun, staff used in churning, p. 52.
palol, the dairyman of a *ti*, pp. 42, 98.
panikp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
pdpun, a water-vessel at the *ti*, p. 92.
pdrkdl, stick used at the *pontp* ceremony, p. 178.
pdrzlrz, milk-leaves, p. 317.
parzir, buffaloes of the Kdrs *ti*, p. 117.
pdrzkadrvunmd, vessel to hold butter, p. 58.
pasthir, the sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol, p. 39.
pdtat, vessel to hold milk, p. 58.
pdtatmdr, part of the dairy where the more sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
pdtatpur, the more sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58.
patcherski, the husked grain of *patm* (samai), p. 580.
pdtiol, one who has held the office of *palol*, p. 104.
pdtun, screen separating the two rooms of a *ti* dairy, p. 86.
pdv, threshold.
pdvnersatiti, saluting the threshold, p. 65.
Pedr, a Tamil.
pelk, the lamp, p. 60.
pelkhodichiti, the ordination ceremony, p. 144.
pelkhatitkwashal, fireplace at a *ti* dairy used in lighting the lamp; p. 92
pen, a plateau or a gradual slope of a hill.
pen, butter, p. 58.
pennir, the string supporting the *kdvn*, pp. 30, 572.
pep, buttermilk used ceremonially, pp. 64, 166.

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pẹpirthti, a rite at the *kûḍrpali*, p. 67.
pẹpharichâ or *pẹpharichti*, the ceremony of making new *pẹṣ*, p. 166.
pẹpharmuṣ, the milking-place of a *tl*, p. 85.
pẹpîdrzum, a dairy vessel of the *tl*, p. 89.
pẹpûti, the rite of drinking buttermilk at the ordinary dairy, p. 78; also the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk by buffaloes, p. 135.
peritkîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tl*, p. 113.
perkârzol, the lower stage in the office of *kdlimokh*, p. 105.
pẹrol, an ordinary person, not ordained to any dairy office, p. 39.
perṣâṣîr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Melgârs, p. 69.
pẹrsin, the vessel in which milk is churned at the *tl*, p. 89.
pẹrsinîr, the sacred buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
perṣâ, elder, p. 485.
pẹtuni, a piece of *tuni*, p. 105.
pîau, grandfather, p. 485.
pîdv, grandmother, p. 486.
pîlikòrzn, sorcerers, p. 255.
pîlimòrtiti, offering of a ring, pp. 294, 306.
pîlîôṭpol, a sorcerer, p. 255.
pîlîôtvichi, sorcery, p. 255.
pinsiṭîr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Pan, p. 69.
pòḍri, contributions from relatives by marriage, p. 396.
pòḍrzhtuni, the loin-cloth of the *palol*, p. 103.
pôh, the conical and other sacred dairies, p. 45.
pôhkârṭpol, the dairyman at Kanòḍrs, p. 79.
pôkvelkârs, seat on which the *palol* sits, pp. 87, 96.
pôkvet (*pôkṣet*), a wand used by the *palol* when praying, pp. 89, 96.
pôl, a calf of one to two years, p. 47.
pôlm, a portion, a division of a clan pp. 37, 544.
pôlmachok, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
pon, festival, pp. 85, 161; up, p. 383; see also p. 496.
ponkkrtvaimokh, boy who takes a leading part at the *trnörtiti* ceremony, p. 302.
ponnol, festival day.
ponûp, a salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 177.
pòrmunkursh, outer room of dairy, p. 56.
puḍrzhtiṣîr, the *mûrzulîr* of Kârs and Târâḍr, p. 71.
pûkârôpathâli, the ornamented cloak, p. 572.
pûl, surroundings or outskirts, p. 85.
puliol, relatives with whom marriage is prohibited, p. 509.
punathalvol, path reserved for the dairyman, p. 27.
punîr, the ordinary buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
punrs, a name for two days, p. 142.
pûrsîr, buffaloes of the Kârs *tl*, p. 117.
purzûlpimi, the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow during pregnancy, p. 319.
pût, a stirring-stick, p. 60.
pûthpep, the buttermilk obtained in the *pẹpharichâ* ceremony, p. 169.
putîr, ordinary buffaloes, p. 39.

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puthkli, the cloak, pp. 30, 571.
puzhkrs, seclusion-hut, p. 313.
puzhkrpimi, the ceremony of throwing earth at a funeral, p. 344.
Satimad, a village of especial sanctity, p. 421.
sedvaitaxmokh, name of the woman in the *mokkthoditi* union, p. 526.
Tadri, pole used in funeral ceremonies, p. 376.
tadrp, the loin-cloth, p. 30.
tdf, fern.
tagdrs, a chain.
tarsir, buffaloes of the Pan *tl*, p. 119.
Tarthdrol, one of the two divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
tdrdpunkudi, hole used at the salt-giving ceremony at a Tarthar village, p. 177.
tdrvali or *tdrpali*, the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 61.
tdrvalikdrtmokh, the dairyman of the *tdrvali*, p. 461.
tasth, the bars in the opening of a pen, p. 153.
taxmokh, woman, wife, p. 489.
tefkh, a ring used in carrying dairy vessels. p. 60.
Teikirzi, a goddess, p. 186.
teikr, stone or post at which a buffalo is killed at a funeral, p. 349.
Teipdkh, the Paikara river, p. 418; also a god, p. 187.
teirlr, buffaloes of the Nödrs *tl*, p. 112.
Tevaliol, one of the chief divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
tek (*tekh*?), basket, p. 57.
thrrsthi, custom of transferring wives, p. 523
tersamptpimi, a ceremony of childhood, p. 333.
tersantirikiti, the rite of putting curd or milk on the bell, p. 66.
tesherst, a qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol*, p. 154.
teskulr, the first stage of the ordination ceremony of the *palol*, p. 157.
teu, god, p. 182.
teukwoi, clay vessel made at the *pondp* ceremony, p. 179.
teuol, diviner, p. 249.
teutitutthchi, ceremony of lighting a fire on a hill, p. 290.
tl, the most sacred dairy institution of the Todas, pp. 42, 83.
tlir, the buffaloes of the *tl*, p. 42; also used of a special group of these buffaloes at the Nödrs *tl*, p. 112.
tlkolfmdv, Badaga associated with a *tl*, p. 98.
tl mod, a village or place belonging to a *tl*, p. 83.
thrutthmaskal, fireplace at a *tl* dairy used to cook food, p. 91.
thrmun, the *tl* name of the *md*, p. 89.
td, the buffalo-pen, p. 26.
tdpr, a sacred tree, pp. 67, 433.
tdkitthkdrs, stone lifted as a sport, p. 597.
tdkultr mani, a bell used in the funeral ceremonies, pp. 376, 424.
tdin, a seat or bed, p. 30.
tuni, the grey garment used by many dairymen, pp. 72, 572.
tuninördiri, offering of a *tuni*, pp. 294, 305.
tunitutthkdltmokh, the full *kdltmokh*, pp. 105, 152.

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târṙvali, the cooking-pot of a *ṯl* dairy, p. 90.
târi, knife.
twaḍrindr, material made by the Todas, p. 574.
Ullêrwârthkârṙ, a wand, p. 60.
ulkkurṙk, inner room of dairy, p. 56.
unîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *ṯl*, p. 112.
âppun, a vessel of the *ṯl* dairy, p. 90.
âpunkudi (? *âppunkudi*), hole used at the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 176.
ârvatpimi, ceremony during pregnancy, p. 313.
âtkòren, people who apply certain magical or medical remedies, p. 263.
âtpol, medicine man, p. 263.
Wâk, vessels burnt at the *âṙâramkḥḍr*, p. 381.
warṙîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *ṯl*, p. 112; and of the Pan *ṯl*, p. 119.
wask, grain-pounder, p. 32.
waskal, fireplace of three stones, pp. 57, 582.
wârsol, the dairyman of the *wârsuli*, pp. 40, 72, 74.
wârsuli, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 71.
wârsulîr, the buffaloes of a *wârsuli*, p. 40.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103-12, 1937); in that paper, ṭ, ṇ, ṛ should be read for v, ḷ, ɣ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ɻ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ǰ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [u] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aui] in one name is the diphthong [au] plus the vowel [i].

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[1] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[2] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[3] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to EGO. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, oɲɔ: in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɔ: in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ɵɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɔ: in address. En-ɵɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯm-ɵɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," on-ɵɯɾ-fed (or on-don-ɵɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ɵɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oɵɔm-ɵɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -ɾuɪx (= kuɪx) a female.[4]

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[2] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalized alveolar sibilants, č, ǰ for post-dental affricates and č̣, ǰ̣ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1937–38 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[3] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

[4] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom EGO would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

Types of cattle and associated dairy-temples and priest-dairymen

Cattle	Dairy-temple (poikhthli)	Priest-dairyman
postir (sacred)		
1) tiir (most sacred)	1) ti	1) palol and kaltmokh
2) kugvalir	2) kugvali	2) kugvalikartmokh
3) nodrovair	3) kurpali	3) kurpalikartmokh
4) wursulir (least sacred)	4) wursuli	4) wursol
putir (ordinary cattle)	tarvali	tarvalikartmokh

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Arsh - house
Ker - family
Mad (Mund) - hamlet or village
Matchuni - cross-cousin
Modol - patrilineal clan, patrilineage
Mun - maternal uncle
Noim - supreme council
Polkhliol - matrilineal descent group, matrilineage
Polm - a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them
Putkuli - toga-like garment worn by both sexes
Shola - woods of short trees and bushes

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an aver- 000 age, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot	u = blue	z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	ù = cook	à = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	oo = moon	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	ü = French	
			r = rot		

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiarox: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]